World Alliance News Letter

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Brotherhood and Foreign Policy

TO THE PREACHER'S SLOGAN, "All men are brothers", the wag has replied, "Yes, like Cain and Abel". That retort may be no more than an expression of cynicism. It may also reflect a refreshing realism. For the brotherhood ideal, perhaps more than any other, easily becomes a "pernicious abstraction" about which everybody talks and nobody does anything.

There is no place where the brotherhood ideal more immediately needs realistic application than in USA foreign policy, where we have stumbled most dangerously when we have betrayed the principles of our authentic democratic heritage.

The month when we observe Brotherhood Week and Race Relations Sunday provides, it would seem, an especially fitting time to give serious thought to certain questions about brotherhood and our foreign policy. Among them are the following:

First, how long will we allow to remain on our statute books, in unamended form, the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act? The Act discriminates flagrantly against foreigners on nationality and racial lines, and outrages our American humanitarian tradition. Many of our perceptive friends abroad, watching with dismay as we apply the provisions of this Act, refer to our professed democratic faith with the rueful comment: "They say, and do not."

Second, what will we do about helping to develop a freer world trade? What action will we take on the findings of the Randall Commission? Will we in 1954 extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements which, for nearly a quarter of a century, have been so beneficial to the foreign trade of both ourselves and our friends? Not only the brotherhood ideal but our national interest is inescapably linked with our trade policies. Stable economies in all the countries within the free world are a requisite for overall strength. The forces which work to erect higher tariff walls can effectively undercut the broad interests of the USA and of the free world. All who cry "brotherhood" have a direct obligation to make the ideal relevant to our trade policies.

Third, will we as a nation do what is needed to develop a more reliable system of collective security throughout the world? In some respects the USA has a sound record in this area. The Truman Doctrine was pointed in the right direction. NATO, the Organization of American States, and the Pacific pacts, together with the UN collective action against aggression in Korea, have a multilateral base which is significant. These pacts and the UN Korean action represent more than military alliances. In our preoccupation with security, however, we often are prone to overstress its military side. Essential as the military emphasis is, it can never be adequate by itself. Our defense arrangements can help to develop mutual understanding and therefore can be a valuable step in building a more genuine collective security system only if the non-military, political, economic, social, and cultural aspects are greatly strengthened. Collective security will be a product only of a growing mutuality, a deeper sense of community among the nations. All that we mean by "brotherhood" must consciously be made a part of our enterprises with other nations. There is no other foundation on which a free world can stand, no other base on which a *freer* world can be built.

Fourth, will we as a nation decide to press firmly for a more adequate program of technical cooperation, both through the United Nations and through our own bilateral operations? Will we make technical cooperation an expression of goodwill, "divorced from military aid and security objectives"? Will we always conduct these programs (as the Cleveland Study Conference put it) "to conserve and promote human dignity and the freedom of individuals and nations"? Our primary motivation then will be to help people help themselves. No lesser incentive will contribute to the fulfillment of our authentic heritage. We cannot "buy" the allegiance of people to the free world.

Fifth, will we in this country continue to make advances in the guarantee of full human rights to all our people? Our progress in this area, while steady, at times is agonizingly slow. We dare never rest on our oars when striving for full human rights for all. In a world in which the white race is a minority and in which the peoples of color hold deep resentments because of nineteenth century white imperialism, we should always remember the world impact of what we say and what we do about full human rights for every person living in our land.

As we look at these five ways in which the brotherhood ideal is directly related to our foreign policy and to our status among the family of nations, we would perhaps be wise to listen once again, humbly and intently, to Abraham Lincoln when he referred to the Declaration of Independence:

"I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include *all* men. . . . They defined with tolerable distinctness in what respects they did consider all men created equal — equal with 'certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' . . . They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society which should be familiar to all and revered by all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere."

Lincoln's emphatic iteration of *universality* gives us the only useful perspective from which to view the brotherhood ideal if we really want to put it to work today in our confused world. This same perspective is central in both the Old and New Testaments.

ITEMS OF INTEREST

Church Peace Union Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees of The Church Peace Union convened in Merrill House on Thursday, January 28. Rev. George B. Ford, Vice-President, presided. The secretaries gave reports on their work, the 1954 budget was approved and other business transacted, and the program for the ensuing year was discussed. At the afternoon meeting Bishop G. Ashton Oldham, Dr. Miles H. Krumbine and Dr. William Agar led a discussion on pressing international issues facing the United States. The Joint Church Peace Union and World Alliance Education Committee met on the preceding day and planned in detail the 1954 educational program.

Committee for Defense of the Constitution

Concerted opposition to the proposed Bricker Amendment to the Constitution (S. J. Res. 1) gained momentum on December 28, 1953 with the formation of this nation-wide committee. Leadership in the new committee has been taken by the Constitutional scholar, Dr. Edward S. Corwin, John W. Davis, General Lucius D. Clay (retired), and other distinguished Americans. From its national office at 527 Lexington Ave., New York 17, N. Y. the committee is trying to create an informed public opinion and intelligent opposition to Senator Bricker's proposal, which attacks the President's power in USA foreign affairs and appears to be basically isolationist.

Those wishing to oppose the proposed Bricker Amendment may write for help to the above committee. They may also find of value two publications which clearly explain the issues involved in the debate over S.J. Res. 1: (1) "The Perilous Folly of Senator Bricker" by Henry Steele Commager (reprint from *The Reporter;* from The Church Peace Union, 170 East 64th St., New York 21, N. Y. Single copy free, 100 copies, $2.00). (2) "The Bricker Amendment" (*Information Service* reprint, January 1954, revised text; from the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. Single copy, 10 cents; 100 copies, $4.30).

World Order Library

A new and unique service for learning about and obtaining important books in the field of world affairs and world order is offered by the World Order Library, a non-profit organization begun in March 1953. Its president is Raymond Dennett, of the World Peace Foundation, and its editor is Stillman P. Williams. Among the members of the advisory committee are Norman Cousins and Leslie T. Pennington.

World Order Library offers two valuable services: (1) it is a mail order office for both new and old important books on international affairs, some of the latter being available at reduced prices; (2) it distributes a book review reprint bulletin, an initial subscription to which ($2.50 per year) will bring reprints of reviews on 40 books. Review reprint subscribers may purchase titles at a 10 per cent discount from the list price. A sample copy of the 1953 Catalogue-Guide is available free on request by writing to World Order Library, Inc., 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.

United Nations Library

Every effort is made by the United Nations Library staff to secure a complete collection of basic and current materials on international law and international relations, as well as on relevant economic and social matters. The materials, including books, periodicals, and official documents, now number approximately 160,000 volumes. Although it chiefly serves the UN delegations and the Secretariat, the Library's facilities are open, when permission is granted, to non-governmental organizations, teachers, graduate students and research workers. (Open, Monday through Friday, 9:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.) An 8-page leaflet entitled, *Library Services and Collections,* gives a full description of the types of materials and services available at the UN Library. (From UN Library, United Nations, New York. Free.)

Our Ecumenical Heritage in International Affairs

In a comprehensive article under this title, Dr. Richard M. Fagley in *The Ecumenical Review,* (October 1953) reviews briefly the positions on major issues in international affairs taken at the World Council of Churches First Assembly and at preceding conferences of the world ecumenical movement. The record of the churches' developing concern about international problems is here organized under the following heads: Christian responsibility, international ethos, international law and organization, human rights, international justice, and the Christian and war. Reprints of the article are available in limited quantities from the World Council of Churches, 156 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

The United Nations At Work

A 15-week course on the United Nations, to be conducted by Arno G. Huth, former consultant and Educational Liaison Officer to the United Nations, will open February 2 and meet weekly at The New School for Social Research. The course will study the UN, its aims and operation; special consideration will be given to the proposed review of the United Nations Charter. Leading UN delegates and officials will participate as speakers. For further information address Registrar, New School for Social Research, 66 West 12th St., New York 11, N. Y.

NEW HOPE FOR HOMELESS, STATELESS PEOPLE

JOHN DEFRATES

When homes are burned and people torn from their families to labor for their conquerors, as happened to many millions of war-victims, the destruction extends far beyond the horizon of material things. Buildings can be quickly replaced but the scars of mental suffering take longer to heal. Without friendship and solidarity between peoples no humanitarian work can be successfully undertaken.

When persecution or fear of persecution forces millions of innocent persons to flee from their homelands without prospect of an ultimate return to the community from which they came, more is lost to them than the familiar surroundings or the circle of family and neighbors. They arrive in new countries often only in the clothes they stand in and with a great uncertainty about their future. Restoring hope and confidence is one of the chief responsibilities of the free world towards these refugees.

PEOPLE "WITHOUT A COUNTRY"

The United Nations tackled the war-time and post-war refugee emergencies with two temporary organizations, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and the International Refugee Organization (IRO). Later, on 1 January 1951, the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees was established at the United Nations European Headquarters in Geneva. The High Commissioner's Office is concerned with those refugees, victims of persecution whether it be racial, religious or political, who have no government to which they can appeal as citizens. The prime function of the Office is to provide international protection for refugees and to arrange for their resettlement as useful citizens of a free community.

When a refugee crosses a frontier and asks for asylum he encounters the complex machinery of modern government. Before he can settle down to a normal existence he has many forms to complete and questions to answer. He needs identity papers, a travel document, a residence permit and permission to work.

The efforts of the international body in the field of legislation must therefore aim at promoting in each country a framework of laws guaranteeing the refugee's right and stabilizing an international practice towards the victims of persecution and intolerance. To this end, the Office of the High Commissioner maintains close contact with governments, and Representatives of the High Commissioner are stationed in the principal countries of asylum and immigration. Their presence also ensures that any particularly knotty problem that arises may be solved without delay at a local level.

CONVENTION ON STATUS OF REFUGEES

Believing in the idea of a world in which every human being has elementary rights, the United Nations has made a new and most important effort to secure those rights for refugees who have no national authority to which they can appeal. The United Nations Conference of Plenipotentiaries representing 26 States drew up a Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees which has the purpose of guaranteeing to refugees a standard of treatment no less favorable — and in some cases more favorable — than that accorded to aliens generally. The Convention was signed in July 1951 and, with its sixth ratification completed, will come into force as a part of international law during the first half of this year. It will be the responsibility of the High Commissioner's Office to supervise the application of the Refugee Convention.

While many of the refugees within the High Commissioner's mandate are established in their new countries of residence, the future of more than 500,000 is still uncertain. One hundred thousand of these refugees are living in camps; some have been there several years. The re-establishment of these refugees is no easy matter and it requires determined efforts on the part of the authorities concerned. Often camps are situated away from towns, sometimes the national labor market is closed to non-nationals and sometimes only the creation of new employment opportunities would solve the problem.

PROJECTS AIMED TO INTEGRATE REFUGEES

A recent grant from the Ford Foundation has been directed towards demonstration projects in the field of social and economic integration of refugees, with excellent results. These projects are carried out by voluntary agencies whose work for refugees is extensive and invaluable. It is significant that religious concern and the driving force of faith have so often inspired this voluntary service to refugees. Money has been spent on housing to bring refugees within reach of industrial centers, families have been settled on the land, men and women have been given vocational training to equip them for a productive life in their new countries, and youths have been helped to complete their studies or take up apprenticeships. Many projects are still to be executed. Only the money is lacking; the field for other foundations lies wide open.

THE REFUGEE EMERGENCY FUND

There are other aspects of the work of the Office of the High Commissioner. International protection is of only secondary use to people who are blind, tubercular or starving. The United Nations Refugee Emergency Fund (UNREF) exists to meet the most urgent appeals for immediate assistance. Food, clothing, blankets, artificial limbs and small money grants have been provided in many cases.

UNREF is desperately short of money at this moment. Just before Christmas, the High Commissioner made a broadcast appeal in which he said: "The funds of UNREF have run out." It is hoped that the response of the peoples of the world will make it possible to continue the emergency aid program throughout 1954.

The refugees took the path of exile to seek freedom. Those who are both safe and free should extend to them the hand of help and friendship.

—JOHN DEFRATES, M.A. (Oxon), *is in the office of the Special Assistant to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva.*

THE FIRST EXPERIMENT IN SUPRANATIONAL EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT

J. G. DE BEUS

I. In the picturesque hillside capital of Luxemburg, which could figure as the Walt Disney version of a fairytale kingdom, the first application of a European federal administration has come into being. Here the European Coal and Steel Community, which constitutes the first experiment in supranational European government has been in actual operation for over one year — and proved a success. That is the hopeful conclusion to which a visit to this laboratory for the amalgamation of European sovereignties leads.

Americans read regularly about the difficulties encountered on the path toward European integration, about new delays, new obstacles, new conditions put forward by this nation or that. Very little publicity has, on the other hand, been given to the fact that since August 10, 1952 the so-called Schumann plan for a six-nation Coal and Steel Community has been in daily operation in actual fact. It is the old story: difficulties are news; solutions, once found and applied satisfactorily, are not.

A Testing Ground

Yet, what is happening here is as important to the future of Europe as the first atomic explosion on the Yucca flats was to the development of atomic energy: it is the testing ground of European federal government. If it fails, the cynics who hold that supranational cooperation in Europe is impossible will have obtained prima facie evidence that they are right, and the immense amount of energy which has gone into the building of European integration will have been wasted. If, on the other hand, it succeeds, a firm foundation for the application of supranational European administration in other fields will have been laid, and with it the basis for a United States of Europe. The important thing is that up to now it has succeeded.

The purpose of the European Coal and Steel Community was to create a vast common market for coal and steel, consisting of the 160 million consumers of France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg. In how far has the Community achieved this purpose yet?

Five years were allotted at the outset for the completion of this task. Now, one and one-half years after the Community has been set up, it is possible to say that the first, and probably the most difficult part of the job has been done. Two achievements particularly justify this statement.

Two Notable Achievements

In the first place the common market has been legally established — on February 10, 1953 for coal and iron ore, on March 15 for scrap, and on May 1st for steel. This means that all import duties, all quantitative restrictions, and all discriminatory practices are formally abolished and prohibited between the six member countries.

It must immediately be added that a real single market is in point of fact not completely in existence yet. A number of factors are still hampering a fully unimpeded flow of coal and steel between the six member states. Thus the High Authority, as had been provided, allowed a number of transitional exceptions to the treaty in order to enable those hurt by the opening of the single market to tide over their initial difficulties. Furthermore the traditional channels of trade cannot be immediately changed: existing powerful national organizations are inevitably, through inertia or ill-will, inclined to stick to the traditional patterns of trade. Notwithstanding these encumbrances the exchange of coal between members of the community has already increased by 18%, of iron ore by 30% and of scrap iron by 40%; and the exports to non-member countries increased at the same time.

The second achievement is that the Community has survived several tests of its strength in conflicts with national interests. Such conflicts were bound to arise in a field, where tremendous and powerful vested interests have entrenched themselves in the course of generations. By tact and firmness the High Authority has up to now been able to get its way. This is of supreme importance, because the real test of an international organization comes when it has to enforce the collective will over the opposition of a strong member state. Thus far the Community has stood this test with success.

II. The main question to which this author has been trying to find the answer is: Why has the European Coal and Steel Community, in as far as can be judged yet, been successful? It is obvious that the answer to this question is of vital importance for any future attempt at European integration on a wider scale.

The first and main reason would seem to be the Community's supranational character. The cumbersome task of bringing about and ensuring the common market is entrusted primarily to a High Authority of nine members, which in its limited field of action acts as a super-government. It is not a super-government in the sense that it stands *above* the participating governments or can dictate its will to them, but in the sense that those six have transferred to the High Authority all power necessary to establish and enforce a common market for coal and steel; in other words, the High Authority replaces the six governments in its particular field.

Surmounting Special Interests

This supranational character is what distinguishes the European Coal and Steel Community from all other international organizations, such as the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or the Organization of American States. In all those the collectivity has no direct power over the private citizens or groups within any member country; it can only exercise its power through and with the consent of the participating governments.

The Coal and Steel Community, on the contrary, can impose its decisions directly upon all interested parties within the six countries. The supranational structure renders it impossible for any one nation, at the instigation of special interests, to block deci-

(*Continued on Page 7*)

—DR. DE BEUS *is Minister Plenipotentiary at the Netherlands Embassy, Washington, D. C.*

FOCUS> *on the Churches' Work for World Order*

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More Impelling Than Ever

The Healing of the Nations

This nation was founded on the religious principles of freedom, equality and fraternity. As we approach the end of two centuries of national life, we still have to ask ourselves whether we are building on those foundations. . . . Surely we must with confidence look forward to a day of mental and spiritual health, unmarred by racial prejudice, which is a sign and symptom of illness both of mind and of spirit. . . .

When the whole matter is viewed in worldwide perspective, the healing of the nations calls for a medicine which — up to this moment — we, as Christians, have been unwilling to take. The nonwhite peoples of the world are unconvinced by a Christianity which accepts a color line. If we really believe that true religion is for the healing of the nations, and if we intend to continue offering to others the leaves and fruits of the Tree which grows beside the River of Life, there is but one appropriate way: we must practice what we preach, match creed with deed, and express in our lives the truths we claim to believe.

—A MESSAGE FOR RACE RELATIONS SUNDAY, *National Council of Churches.*

* * *

On the occasion of Race Relations Sabbath the Central Conference of American Rabbis calls upon all Americans to rededicate themselves through word and deed to the principle of equal opportunity for all men, regardless of race, color, or national origin. This principle is the essence of our religious faith as it is the essence of democracy itself. . . .

We who believe that all men — not some, but all — were created in God's own image, must not countenance the blasphemy of prejudice.

—A MESSAGE FOR RACE RELATIONS SUNDAY, *Central Conference of American Rabbis.*

* * *

He who, while saying "Our Father", would deny a Negro or a Jew the status of a brother, even if only by implication or as a pure matter of practice, would not be really invoking the Father who is in Heaven, and he would not be heard. It is because there is but one God, in whose image all have been fashioned, one Father whose children we all likewise are, that all men are brothers, in a way that no created power can destroy. The only means of denying this brotherhood is to set oneself outside the Fatherhood of God. Here again, the logical conclusion of racism is the abandonment of Christianity.

—YVES M.-J. CONGAR, O. P. in *The Catholic Church and the Race Question, UNESCO, Paris.*

* * *

Christian Democracy rejects artificial inequalities due to racial myths, material greed or physical violence and recognizes only such accidental inequalities as necessarily accompany human life at all times in all places.

As the objective of the Catholic interracial program, we define Christian Democracy as a society in which the God-given dignity and destiny of every human person is fully recognized, in laws, government, institutions and human conduct.

—INTERRACIAL REVIEW, *Published monthly by the Catholic Interracial Council.*

* * *

As members of different faiths we are cognizant of the divisions among us. Some of our differences are matters of conscience to which we must adhere; some are strong convictions from which we will not be lightly turned. We record our belief, however, that these differences need not be the source of conflict that sometimes they have occasioned and that as we work together on the basis of fundamental moral principles toward common civic goals, we shall gain in mutual respect and goodwill. In a day when moral values important to all of us are threatened, such cooperation becomes imperative.

—*From a statement issued in 1951 by the Executive Committee, Commission on Religious Organizations, National Conference of Christians and Jews.*

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

The US and Human Rights

As the convening date of the Commission on Human Rights approaches, the US finds itself in a rather uncomfortable position. Until the recent storm caused by the debates on the proposed Bricker Amendment our delegates to this UN commission, notably Mrs. Roosevelt, had worked tirelessly to develop a covenant dealing with civil and political rights, and another dealing with economic, social and cultural rights. The US has appeared as a leader in the drive to get the basic rights of people in a legalistic form that would have at least some morally binding effect on the signatories of such covenants. Our leadership was recognized in part by the realization of other UN members that the US has made comparatively great progress in achieving human rights for its citizens.

Now, to the world, we must seem to be dragging our feet. Although we do not object to other members drawing up covenants for submission to the commission's parent body, the Economic and Social Council, we have made it clear that our Administration will submit no covenants to the national legislature for ratification in the foreseeable future. We have proposed, rather, that the chief emphasis on human rights be placed on a UN survey of world conditions to determine needs, an educational campaign to familiarize nations and peoples with their basic rights, and a program of technical assistance to help people attain human rights. To colonial peoples this approach by the USA may well seem like procrastination, if not indeed surrender to the colonial powers.

If the political situation in this country is such that our Administration feels it must retreat from our former position of leadership in the drafting of covenants, some of the curse of holding this position might be removed if we gave generously to programs of technical assistance designed to further human rights.

Undermining the Foreign Service

For some years it has been apparent to those who have traveled abroad and to Washington visitors that there is in the Department of State an air of uncertainty, anxiety and apprehension. It is a result not only of the normal response to a dependency on appropriations voted by the legislature. This reaction is inevitable and, in the long run, healthy within our form of government. The present temper of the State Department personnel is due to the preoccupation with national "security" and their own insecurity.

The frightening state of the morale of the foreign service was detailed in a letter to the *New York Times* printed January 17, 1954. The letter was signed by five distinguished citizens, all of whom have served their country faithfully and ably either in the Department itself or in foreign service. The signers of the letter were: Norman Armour, who has been an ambassador to Latin American countries and Spain; Joseph C. Grew, Ambassador to Japan when that country attacked Pearl Harbor; Robert Woods Bliss, who has a record of thirty years service at home and abroad; William Phillips, who has been director of foreign aid programs; and G. Howland Shaw, whose diplomatic career covered almost thirty years. They rightly point out that the frantic and irresponsible search for "security" creates a climate of fear that makes objective reporting by the foreign service hazardous and well nigh impossible. In crucial times like these we cannot afford to make "the eyes and ears" of our State Department so frightened that they will report and recommend only that which they feel will be acceptable to Congressional investigating committees.

The whole problem of restoring the confidence of our foreign service, and incidentally attracting to that branch of service men of similar ability and integrity as the signers of the letter to the *Times*, is a problem crucial in attaining real national security.

Recommended Magazine Articles

The Return to Wishful Thinking by G. F. Hudson. (*Commentary*, January 1954).

Mr. Hudson's phrase, "wishful thinking", refers to the desire of diplomats and statesmen to see the USSR as "simply one more among the nation-states of the modern world", instead of "trying to understand that the Soviet regime is a new phenomenon in modern history".

Civil Rights Legislation and the Fight for Equality, 1862-1952 by Will Maslow and Joseph B. Robison. (The *University of Chicago Law Review*, Spring 1953.)

Reprints of this excellent, comprehensive review are available from American Jewish Congress, 15 East 84th St., New York 28, N. Y. (50 pp., 15 cents.)

The Odds on Communism in India by Chester Bowles. (*Harper's*, January 1954.)

Mr. Bowles writes with deep insight about the present political situation in India.

Something New in Dictators by Ellery Sedgwick. (*Atlantic*, January 1954.)

The former editor of *The Atlantic* in this article describes Salazar of Portugal as a benevolent dictator.

The United Nations — a Benefit by L. J. C. Beaufort, O.F.M. and **The United Nations — a Liability** by James J. Flynn. (*The Catholic World*, January 1954.)

Two prominent Catholics write their estimates of the United Nations. Father Beaufort is a professor of International Law at the Catholic University of Nijmegen, Netherlands and Dr. Flynn is a professor at Fordham University.

The Mythology of Anti-Americanism by Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn. (*The Commonweal*. January 15, 1954.)

Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn, an Austrian novelist and political writer, here characterizing the USA as "conservative", discusses some of the misapprehensions of Europeans about America and Americans.

. . . But We Were Born Free by Elmer Davis. (*New Republic*, January 18, 1954.)

In this brief article, taken from his remarks in accepting the 1953 Authors Guild Award, Mr. Davis deals with the present plight of freedom in this country.

PROGRAM SUGGESTIONS

Brotherhood Week

The observance of Brotherhood Week, February 21 to 28, is sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews (381 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.). NCCJ has prepared materials helpful to churches and synagogues for planning their programs in brotherhood.

Race Relations Sunday, February 14

The National Council of Churches has prepared a complete packet of program materials for the occasion. The packet includes adult and youth programs, worship services, information for speakers and other program suggestions. (National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. 15 cents.)

Race — A Topic for Study

Organize a group within the synagogue or church which will develop and maintain creative attitudes about race. The UNESCO pamphlets listed below on various aspects of this subject are valuable as a basis for group discussion, for individual reading, and for reference purposes. Useful additions to your church, synagogue and public libraries.

What Is Race? Scientifically treats the validity of common conceptions of race. Illustrated with charts and tables. 87 pp., $1.00.

The Race Question in Modern Thought: a new series of pamphlets giving the position of five major religions on the problems of racial discrimination. The first of these, *The Catholic Church and the Race Question* (40 cents), has been released; *Jewish Thought As a Factor in Civilization* and *The Protestant Movement and the Race Question* are slated for 1954 publication. The final two booklets will be written by Moslem and Hindu leaders.

All of the above UNESCO publications on race are available from Columbia University Press, International Documents Service, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y.

Other Programs for Brotherhood Month

"Jungle Mission"

This original stage play in three acts written by Anne Barley is part of the educational program of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). It combines dramatic interest with an excellent portrayal of the problems involved in offering technical assistance to underdeveloped areas of the world. Groups interested in staging plays would find it valuable material; other groups would find that it makes excellent reading. Free, one copy for each member of the cast; from FAO, 1325 C Street, S. W., Washington 25, D. C.

"The Story of Interdependence"

This documentary filmstrip play shows how people in the world today are trying to work together in the UN against poverty, disease and aggression. It is a combination kit containing filmstrip, scripts for both actors and narrator, and full directions for staging. (Manhattan Publishing Co., 225 Lafayette St., New York, N. Y. $5.00.)

Brotherhood of Man

This is an 11 minute color, cartoon movie which vividly illustrates the likeness of all the world's people and the need to live amicably together in one world. (Brandon Films, Inc., 200 West 57th St., New York, N. Y. Rental, $1.00.)

FIRST EXPERIMENT (*Continued from Page* 4)

sions desired by the majority. This has been the great stumbling block of other international organizations: some interests within one or more nations are always bound to be hurt by integration into a larger unity, and since this direct damage suffered is often more immediately apparent than the long-range benefits of the integration, it is usually easy for the suffering group to prompt its government into action "to protect the national interest".

A second factor often mentioned as a contributing cause of the Community's successful start is the good cooperation in its organs between the civil servants of different nationalities. A real community spirit has come into being. Although a Community officer may naturally be more aware of his own nation's interest than of some other nation's, this has not prevented the Community's officials from arriving at a common way of viewing things, in which the interest of the Community as a whole dominates. This is again a valuable lesson, because it proves that it is possible to establish a European allegiance above the national allegiances.

As a further cause of the Community's success is often cited the wise distribution of power between the Community's organs, which provides a democratic system of checks and balances. The High Authority is a fairly strong executive, but its power is balanced by the Court of the Community, to which anyone can appeal from its decisions, by an Assembly composed of parliamentarians from the six countries, which can overthrow the High Authority by a two-thirds majority, and a Council of national Ministers, which harmonizes the Community's policy with that of the individual states.

In the caldron of European unity which is brewing since World War II the Luxemburg experiment is worth watching. If it continues to be successful it will have rendered a signal service to the cause of a united Europe. That does not mean that its methods have to be applied without change or are bound to be equally successful in other fields. But it does mean that European integration, if applied to the right subject and with the right approach, *can* work and in fact *is* working.

SUGGESTED READING

The World and the West by Arnold Toynbee. Oxford. 99 pp. $2.00.

In the West were forged the tools and weapons which, since 1945, Russia has been using against the West, namely Western technology and a Western creed, communism. The outcome of present East-West tensions may turn on the West's ability to achieve a creed in addition to the new atomic weapons which we have. Toynbee assumes that the West is ex-Christian.

Ideals and Self-Interest in America's Foreign Relations by Robert Osgood. University of Chicago Press. 491 pp. $6.50.

A historical interpretation of America's past foreign relations, aimed to clarify the present role of the USA in world affairs and to show that *both* national self interest and human ideals can contribute to the development of a sound foreign policy.

Good and Evil by Martin Buber. Scribners. 143 pp. $2.75.

Profound essays by one of the world's foremost religious philosophers. The first "interpretation" is concerned with the place of good and evil in man's observation of the human world, the second in the personal development of the individual man.

In the Minds of Men by Gardner Murphy. Basic Books. 306 pp. $4.50.

A valuable study of human behavior and social tensions in India, based on the UNESCO studies by social scientists conducted at the request of the government of India.

Our Secret Allies: the Peoples of Russia by Eugene Lyons. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce — Boston: Little Brown. 376 pp. $4.50.

The thesis of Mr. Lyons, an expert in Russian affairs, is: "In the Russian peoples we have a weapon more potent than our atomic stockpile. Can we find the wisdom to develop it courageously for our common salvation?"

Yearbook of the United Nations — 1952. Columbia University Press. 981 pp. $12.50.

This annual publication is an indispensable reference work for all who wish to keep abreast of UN work.

Triumph and Tragedy by Winston S. Churchill. Houghton Mifflin. 800 pp. $6.00.

The final volume in Sir Winston's monumental, informative and fascinating history of World War II.

Russia by Sidney Harcave. Lippincott. 665 pp. $7.50.

A history which deals with Russia's culture, politics and economy from her earliest days to the present and may afford the reader some insights into the Russia of today.

The Bible and Our Common Life by Huber F. Klemme. Christian Education Press, Philadelphia. 123 pp. $1.75, cloth; $1.25, paper.

Mr. Klemme concretely relates the teaching of the Bible to contemporary needs for Christian social action, giving helpful suggestions for study programs and action.

Hongkong: the Island Between by Christopher Rand. Knopf. 244 pp. $3.00.

A series of brief articles by a perceptive reporter which give to the reader background and local color on a part of the world where Orient and Occident meet.

The Price of Freedom by Dimitrios G. Kousoules. Syracuse University. 210 pp. $4.00.

A readable story of Greek resistance in the last 15 years to attacks by Italian fascists, German Nazis and Russian communists — related by a former member of the Greek underground.

Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Apprenticeship by Frank Freidel. Little, Brown. 456 pp. $6.00.

This first volume of a projected six volume biography is objective, and has been based on a vast amount of research and written in a fascinating manner. It covers the FDR period from birth until he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

Rebirth and Destiny of Israel by David Ben Gurion. Philosophical Library. 539 pp. $10.00.

A collection of essays and addresses by the former Prime Minister of Israel.

Books Received

The Shaping of the Modern Mind by Crane Brinton. Mentor, New American Library. 287 pp. 35 cents.

The Sun and the Umbrella by Nels F. S. Ferré. Harper. 156 pp. $2.00.

Festivals of the Jewish Year by Theodor H. Gaster. William Sloan Associates. 308 pp. $4.00.

Christian Faith and Natural Science by Karl Heim. Harper. 256 pp. $3.50.

Terra, An allegory by Gregor Lang. Philosophical Library. 338 pp. $4.75.

The Faith I Found by Dwight Marvin. Crowell. 149 pp. $2.50.

Thomas Paine: Common Sense and Other Political Writings ed. by Nelson F. Adkins. Liberal Arts Press. 184 pp. 75 cents.

Eberhardt's Bible Thesaurus by Ernest G. Eberhardt. Exposition Press. 715 pp. $5.00.

Hilaire Belloc: No Alienated Man by Frederick Wilhelmsen. Sheed and Ward. 108 pp. $2.75.

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